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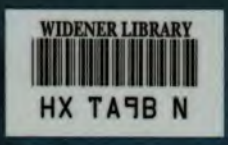

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FROM THE BRIGHT LEGACY.
Received 16 Aug. 1886.

Descendants of Henry Bright, jr., who died at Watertown, Mass., in 1686, are entitled to hold scholarships in Harvard College, established in 1880 under the will of

JONATHAN BROWN BRIGHT

of Waltham, Mass., with one half the income of this Legacy. Such descendants failing, other persons are eligible to the scholarships. The will requires that this announcement shall be made in every book added to the Library under its provisions.

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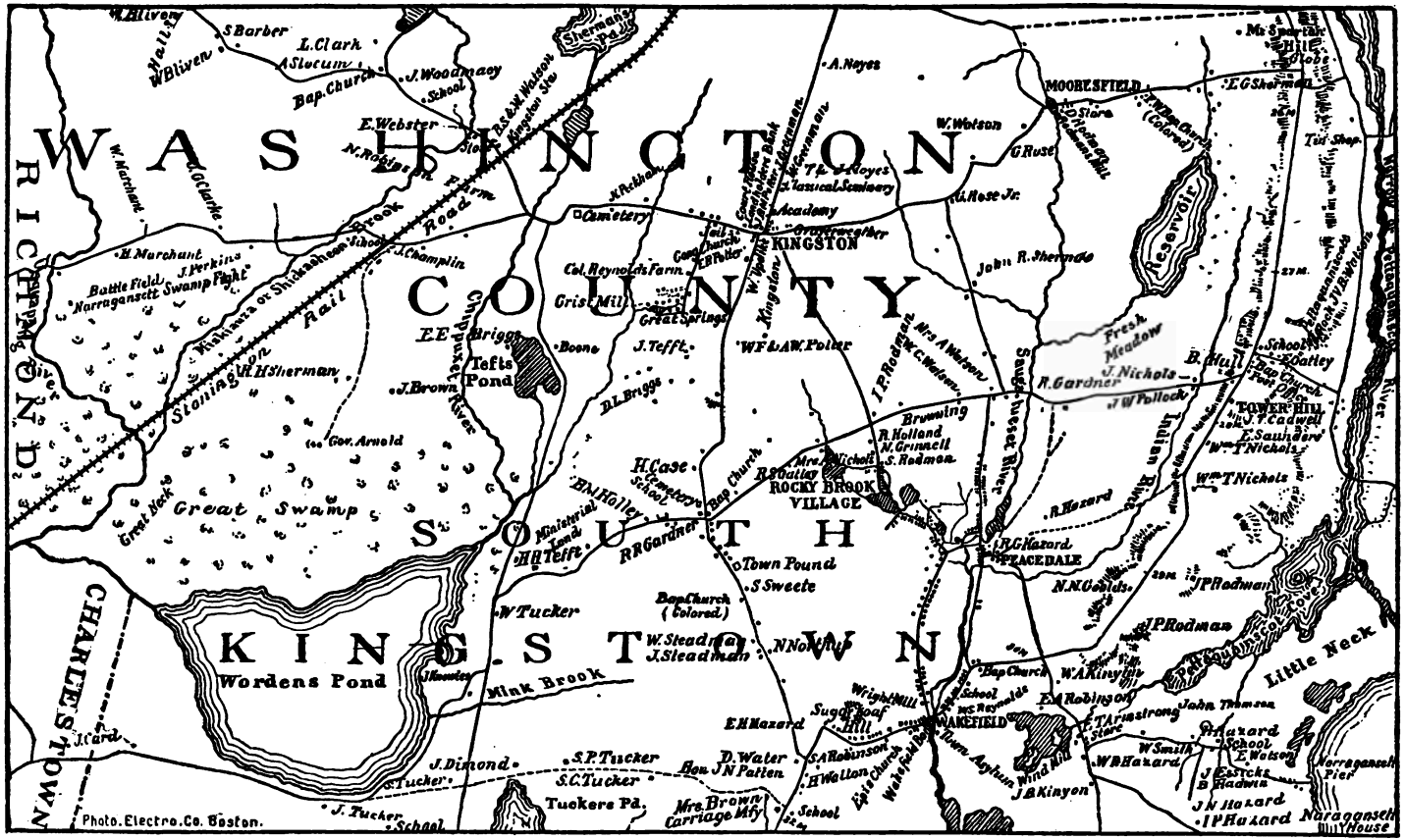
Cover

Narragansett Fort Fight.



MAP SHOWING THE LOCALITY OF THE NARRAGANSETT FORT.

THE

NARRAGANSETT FORT FIGHT,

DECEMBER 19, 1675.

By Rev. GEORGE M. BODGE, A.M.

BOSTON:
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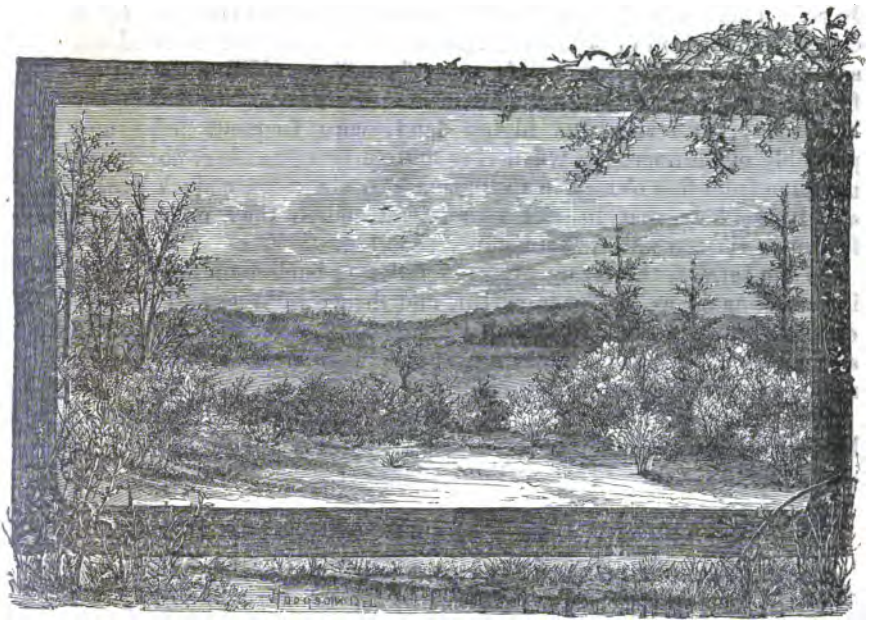
THE NARRAGANSETT CAMPAIGN TO THE CLOSE OF THE "GREAT SWAMP" BATTLE.



THE above picture, representing the present appearance of the site of the old "Swamp Fort" of the Narragansetts, destroyed by the forces of the United Colonies, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Plymouth, December 19th, 1675, was published several years since in a book called "Picturesque Rhode Island." Saving the changes incident upon the clearing and cultivation of contiguous land, the place could be easily identified as the battlefield, even if its location were not put beyond question by traditions and also by relics found from time to time upon the place. It is now, as then, an "island of four or five acres," surrounded by swampy land, overflowed except in the dryest part of the year. The island was cleared and plowed about 1775, and at that time many bullets were found deeply bedded in the large trees; quantities of charred corn were plowed up in different places, and it is said that Dutch spoons and Indian arrow-heads, etc., have been found here at different times. There is no

monument to mark this site of one of the most brilliant victories in American warfare. The place is now owned by the Hon. J. G. Clarke, of West Kingston, R. I., to whom and to John G. Perry, Esq., of Wakefield, R. I., I am indebted for confirmation of the above facts.

The accompanying map is a section—slightly reduced—of the large map of Rhode Island, made from surveys under the direction of H. F. Walling, Esq., and published by him in 1862. It takes in the line of march from Pettisquamscot (Tower-Hill) to the Fort. There is no "scale of miles" upon the large map, but by a careful comparison of known distances, it appears that it is about seven miles in a bee line, nearly west, from Tower-Hill to the battle-field; by way of McSparran Hill, in direct courses, about ten miles. The army, following the higher land, with frequent halts and probably much uncertain wandering and careful scouting, consumed the time from five o'clock in the morning to about one o'clock P.M.; and it is likely that in this roundabout march they made about fifteen or sixteen miles, the distance reported.

In the retreat, the Army probably followed back upon their morning track as far as McSparran Hill, and thence to Wickford to their quarters at Mr. Richard Smith's* garrison-house, arriving there about two o'clock in the morning, after a march of about eighteen miles, as was reported at the time.

The residence of Hon. J. G. Clarke, proprietor of the ancient battlefield, is about a mile north of it. Tower-Hill is the site of Jireh Bull's garrison-house at Pettisquamscot.

Preparations and March against the Narragansetts.

After their somewhat disastrous campaign of the autumn of 1675 in the western parts of the colony of Massachusetts, the United Colonies, upon information that the hostile Indians with Philip were retiring towards the south and to winter quarters amongst the Narragansetts, determined to carry the war against this powerful tribe, who for some time had shown themselves actively hostile. The veteran troops were recalled and reorganized; small towns in various parts of the colonies were garrisoned, and an army of one thousand men was equipped for a winter campaign. General Josiah Winslow, Governor of Plymouth Colony, was appointed commander-in-chief of this Army; Major Samuel Appleton to command the Massachusetts regiment, Major William Bradford that of Plymouth, and Major Robert Treat that of Connecticut. War was formally declared against the Narragansetts on November 2d, 1675,

* Mr. Smith, called Capt. and Major by contemporary writers, was a person of wide influence in this part of the country, and held in high esteem in all the colonies. He was the son of Richard Smith, Senior, who came from "Gloster Shire" in England, and in 1641 bought a large tract of land, including the present town of Wickford, and there built the first English house in Narragansett, and set up a trading station and offered free entertainment to all travellers.

in the meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies held at Boston that day.

General Winslow, upon his appointment to the command of the army in this expedition, rode to Boston for consultation with Gov. Leverett and the Council. Thence on Thursday, December the 9th, he rode to Dedham, having Benjamin Church as aid, and probably the gentlemen who constituted the Massachusetts part of his staff or "guard," consisting of the ministers, among whom was Mr. Joseph Dudley, the surgeons, of whom the chief was Daniel Weld, of Salem. I presume other general officers and aids went along with him, of whom we find no mention. Commissary John Morse was probably of this number. The General assumed command of the Massachusetts forces drawn up on Dedham Plain, and formally delivered to him by Major General Denison of Massachusetts, on Thursday, December 9th. This force consisted of six companies of foot, numbering four hundred and sixty-five, besides Captain Prentice's troop of seventy-five. The full quota of Massachusetts was five hundred and twenty-seven soldiers, but there were doubtless many others along as servants to the officers, scouts, camp-followers, &c. To the soldiers a proclamation was made at this time on the part of the Massachusetts Council, "that if they played the man, took the Fort, & Drove the Enemy out of the Narragansett Country, which was their great Seat, that they should have a gratuity in land besides their wages." On the same afternoon they marched twenty-seven miles to Woodcock's Garrison, now Attleboro'. In the evening of Friday, December 10th, they arrived at Seekonk, where vessels with supplies were in waiting. And here also Major Richard Smith was waiting their arrival with his vessel, and took on board Capt. Mosely and his company, to sail direct to his garrison-house at Wickford. Some others, it is likely, went with them to arrange for quartering the troops, and Benjamin Church was sent to make ready for the General's coming. The rest of the forces "ferried over the water to Providence," and probably formed a junction with the main part of the Plymouth regiment at Providence, on Saturday, December 11th. From Mr. Dudley's letter of the 15th, it will be seen that an account had been sent the Council of their movements to the time of arriving at Pautuxet. This letter is now lost from the files. In the evening of Sunday, December 12th, the whole body advanced "from Mr. Carpenter's," crossed the Pautuxet River and marched a long way into "Pomham's Country," now Warwick, R. I.; but from the unskilfulness of their Warwick scouts (probably Englishmen, for if they had been Indians their failure would have been deemed treachery), their purpose of capturing Pomham and his people was defeated, and after a whole night spent in weary marching about, they arrived at Mr. Smith's garrison-house at Wickford on the 13th, and found their vessels from Seekonk already arrived. Capt. Mosely's com-

pany that day captured thirty-six Indians, including Indian Peter, who proved afterwards such an indispensable guide.

There were many doubtless at Smith's garrison, employed by him and gathered thither for security. Church speaks of finding "the Eldridges and some other brisk hands," and going out and taking eighteen Indians, and finding the General arrived on his return to the garrison next morning before sunrise. This would seem from his story to have been on the morning of the 12th; but the other accounts and his own reference to the General's arrival settle the day as the 13th and the time as before daybreak. This exploit of Mr. Church seems to have been unknown to Messrs. Dudley, Oliver and other contemporary writers. On Monday, 13th, no movement was made, but on the 14th the General moved his whole force, except Capt. Oliver's company, which kept garrison, out through the country to the westward, and burned the town of the Sachem "Ahmus," of whom I can find no mention except this of Mr. Dudley's; and the "Quarters" of Quaiapen, Magnus, or Matantuck, as her Indian name was understood by the English, "Old Queen" or "Sunke Squaw," as she was called by them. She was the widow of Mriksah, or Makanno, son of Canonicus first. Her dominions were in the present towns of South and North Kingston and Exeter, and near the line between the latter, upon a high rocky hill, is still to be found the remains of an old Indian fort, known from earliest times as the "Queen's Fort," and probably near the place where her deserted "Quarters" were raided. The army that day destroyed one hundred and fifty wigwams, killed seven and captured nine Indians. In the mean time Capt. Oliver had sent out "five files," i.e. thirty of his men, under Sergeant (Peter) Bennet, who, scouting abroad, killed two Indians, a man and woman, and captured four more.

Mr. Dudley, writing on the next day, Wednesday, December 15th, states that up to that time they had captured or killed, in all, fifty persons, and their prisoners in hand were forty. Capt. Oliver's account makes the number fifty-seven "young and old." Adding Mr. Church's eighteen, and we swell the number to seventy-five. From a careful survey of the matter in all its relations, I am inclined to think that Church was acting in conjunction with, and under the command of Capt. Mosely, to whom the official returns accredit the capture of the whole body, eighteen of whom Church claims to have been his own captives.

Wednesday, Dec. 15th, the army seems to have been held in parley most of the day by the pretended negotiations of "Stone-wall," or "Stone-layer" John, an Indian who had lived much with the English, and had learned the trade of stone-mason, but was now hostile, and very serviceable to the Indians in many ways. Whether he was treacherous or not, the Indians were gathering and skulking about the English quarters while he was negotiating, and when he

was safely away they began to pick off our men wherever they found opportunity, and later lay in ambush behind a stone wall and fired upon several companies of the English sent out to bring in Maj. Appleton's company, quartered some miles away. They were quickly repulsed with the loss of one of their leaders, and seem to have gone towards the general rendezvous at the great fort, and on the way they assaulted and burned the garrison of Jireh, or "Jerry" Bull at Pettisquamscot (Tower Hill, S. Kingston, R. I.), killing fifteen of those at the garrison, two only escaping.

Thursday, December 16th, Capt. Prentice with his troop rode out, probably following the trail to Pettisquamscot, where he found the garrison-house in ruins. This is said to have been a very strong stone house, easily defended by a small number, and its destruction, of which there is no detailed account, must have been accomplished by either surprise or treachery. The news had a very depressing effect upon the army, who had hoped that the Connecticut forces had already arrived there.

Friday, December 17th, came the news of the arrival of the Connecticut regiment at Pettisquamscot. Our army seems to have been disposing of the captives and preparing for the march. Forty-seven of the captives were sold to Capt. Davenport on this day. Saturday, Dec. 18th, the General, leaving a small garrison at Wickford, pushed his army forward to Pettisquamscot, and about 5 P.M. joined the Connecticut troops consisting of about three hundred English and one hundred and fifty Mohegan Indians. In a severe snow-storm, the whole force, about one thousand men, encamped in the open field through that bitter cold night. Sunday, Dec. 19th, before day-break (Capt. Oliver says, "at five o'clock"), the whole force marched away towards the enemy's great rendezvous.

The following, gleaned from all available sources, may be of interest at this point.

ROSTER OF THE OFFICERS OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED COLONIES,
As organized for the Narragansett Campaign, and as mustered at Pettisquamscot, December 19, 1675.

Gen. JOSIAH WINSLOW, Governor of Plymouth Colony, Com. in Chief.

Staff.
- Daniel Weld, of Salem, Chief Surgeon.
- Joseph Dudley, of Boston, Chaplain.
- Benjamin Church, of Little Compton, R. I., Aid.

Massachusetts Regiment.

Samuel Appleton, of Ipswich, Major, and Captain of 1st Company.

Staff.
- Richard Knott, of Marblehead, Surgeon.
- Samuel Nowell, of Boston, Chaplain.
- John Morse, of Ipswich, Commissary.

1st Company—Jeremiah Swain, Lieut.; Ezekiel Woodward, Sergeant.
2d Company—Samuel Mosely, Captain; Perez Savage, Lieut.
3d Company—James Oliver, Captain; Ephraim Turner, Lieut.; Peter Bennett, Sergeant.

4th Company—Isaac Johnson, Captain; Phineas Upham, Lieut.; Henry Bowen, Ensign.
5th Company—Nathaniel Davenport, Captain; Edward Tyng, Lieut.; John Drury, Ensign.
6th Company—Joseph Gardiner, Captain; William Hathorne, Lieut.; Benjamin Sweet, Ensign, prom. Lieut.; Jeremiah Neal, Sergeant, prom. Ensign.
Troop.—Thomas Prentice, Captain; John Wayman, Lieut.

Plymouth Regiment.

William Bradford, of Marshfield, Major, and Captain of 1st Company.
Staff. { Matthew Fuller, of Barnstable, Surgeon.
Thomas Huckins, of Barnstable, Commissary.
1st Company—Robert Barker, of Duxbury, Lieut.
2d Company—John Gorham, of Barnstable, Captain; Jonathan Sparrow, of Eastham, Lieut.; William Wetherell, Sergeant.

Connecticut Regiment.

Robert Treat, of Milford, Major.
Staff. { Gershom Bulkeley, Surgeon.*
Rev. Nicholas Noyes, Chaplain.
Stephen Barrett, Commissary.
1st Company—John Gallop, of Stonington, Captain.
2d Company—Samuel Marshall, Windsor, Captain.
3d Company—Nathaniel Seely, of Stratford, Captain.
4th Company—Thomas Watts, of Hartford, Captain.
5th Company—John Mason, of Norwich, Captain.†

There were other officers and men of note doubtless who went along with the army. Two surgeons, Dr. Jacob Willard (of Newton) and Dr. John Cutler of Hingham were credited under Major Appleton for their service, and were accredited grantees of the Narragansett townships in 1733, as was also Dr. John Clark of Boston. I have no positive authority for assigning Dr. Knott to Major Appleton's staff, but the first purchase of surgical instruments on the part of the Colony was made of George Thomas, charged December 17, 1675, and were for Dr. Weld and Dr. Knott. I think that Dr. William Hawkins was afterwards sent to the wounded at Rhode Island. The roster of line officers of the Massachusetts Regiment is well attested by the accounts of the Treasurer. Of the Plymouth officers, Lieut. Robert Barker was in the spring following, March 10th, imprisoned and fined by the sentence of a council of war, for mutinous conduct in "breaking away from the army while on the march," but it is evident that this was after the battle at which he must have been present, as his heirs evidently received his claim. His defection probably occurred during "The Long March" or "Hungry March" so called, through the Nipmuck country to Marl-

* A minister, but now acting as Surgeon.
† From some intimations it would seem that Captain Mason was in command of a sixth company composed of Indians, but I have found no positive proof. A contemporary writer says Captain Gallop "commanded Uncas's men." Perhaps each of these had a party in his command.

borough. Of Connecticut, I have not been able to identify any other line officers. Of the troops of Massachusetts, the quota was 527; the number actually impressed was 540, including troopers 75. The returns made at Dedham Plain give 465 foot, troopers 73. The Connecticut quota was 315, and there was also a company of Indians 150. Plymouth's quota was 158.

The Battle at the Great Swamp Fort.

About one o'clock, P.M., the army came upon the enemy at the edge of the swamp, in the midst of which the Indian fortress was built, the Massachusetts regiment leading in the march, Plymouth next, and Connecticut bringing up the rear. Of the Massachusetts troops Capts. Mosely and Davenport led the van and came first upon the Indians, and immediately opened fire upon them—thus at the beginning gaining the important advantage of the first fire, which the Indians had almost always gained and made so deadly by deliberate volleys from ambush, as they doubtless purposed now. The Indians returned the fire with an ineffectual volley, and then fled into the swamp closely pursued by the foremost companies, who did not wait for the word of command, or stand much upon the "order of their going," until they reached the fortifications within which the Indians hastily betook themselves. This fort was situated upon an island of some five or six acres in the midst of a cedar swamp, which was impassable except to the Indians by their accustomed paths, and now made passable only by the severe cold of the previous day and night. It is probable that the Indians depended chiefly upon the swamp to protect them, though their defences are described as having been of considerable strength. A portion of the high ground had been inclosed, and from a careful comparison of the most reliable accounts, it seems that the fortifications were well planned, probably by the Englishman Joshua Teffe, or Tift, as Mr. Dudley calls him. Mr. Hubbard says: "The Fort was raised upon a Kind of Island of five or six acres of rising Land in the midst of a swamp; the sides of it were made of Palisadoes set upright, the which was compassed about with a Hedg of almost a rod Thickness." A contemporary writer (whose account was published at the time in London, and is reprinted in Mr. Drake's publication called the "Old Indian Chronicle") says: "In the midst of the Swamp was a Piece of firm Land, of about three or four Acres, whereon the *Indians* had built a kind of Fort, being palisadoed round, and within that a clay Wall, as also felled down abundance of Trees to lay quite round the said Fort, but they had not quite finished the said Work." It is evident from these, the only *detailed* accounts, and from some casual references, that the works were rude and incomplete, but would have been almost impregnable to our troops had not the swamp been frozen. At the corners and ex-

posed portions, rude block-houses and flankers had been built, from which a raking fire could be poured upon any attacking force. Either by chance, or the skill of Peter, their Indian guide, the English seem to have come upon a point of the fort where the Indians did not expect them. Mr. Church, in relating the circumstances of Capt. Gardiner's death, says that he was shot from that side "next the upland where the English entered the swamp." The place where he fell was at the "east end of the fort." The tradition that the English approached the swamp by the rising land in front of the "Judge Marchant" house, thus seems confirmed. This "upland" lies about north of the battlefield.

Our van pursued those of the enemy who first met them so closely that they were led straight to the entrance used by the Indians themselves, perhaps by their design then to attract attention from an exposed part of their works a short distance away. The passage left by the Indians for their own use, as before mentioned, was by a long tree over a "place of water," across which but one might pass at a time, "and which was so waylaid that they would have been cut off that had ventured." Mr. Hubbard counts among the fortunate circumstances of that day that the troops did not attempt to carry this point, and that they discovered the only assailable point a little farther on. This was at a corner of the fort where was a large unfinished gap, where neither palisades nor the abbatis, or "hedge," had been placed, but only a long tree had been laid across about five feet from the ground, to fill the gap, and might be easily passed; only that the block-house right opposite this gap and the flankers at the sides were finished, from which a galling fire might sweep and enfilade the passage. Mr. Hubbard's account is very clear about this, yet several writers have sadly confused matters and described the first as the point of assault.

It seems that the companies of Capts. Davenport and Johnson came first* to this place, and at once charged through the gap and over the log at the head of their companies, but Johnson fell dead at the log, and Davenport a little within the fort, and their men were met with so fierce a fire that they were forced to retire again and fall upon their faces to avoid the fury of the musketry till it should somewhat abate. Mosely and Gardiner, pressing to their assistance, met a similar reception, losing heavily, till they too fell back with the others, until Major Appleton coming up with his own and Capt. Oliver's men, massed his entire force as a storming column, and it is said that the shout of one of the commanders that the Indians were running, so inspired the soldiers that they made an impetuous assault, carried the entrance amain, beat the enemy from one of his flankers at the left, which afforded them a temporary shel-

* John Raymond claimed to have been the first soldier to enter the fort. The only soldier of that name credited was John Rayment, under Major Appleton.

ter from the Indians still holding the block-house opposite the entrance. In the mean time, the General, holding the Plymouth forces in reserve, pushed forward the Connecticut troops, who not being aware of the extent of the danger from the block-house, suffered fearfully at their first entrance, but charged forward gallantly, though some of their brave officers and many of their comrades lay dead behind them, and unknown numbers and dangers before. The forces now joining, beat the enemy step by step, and with fierce fighting, out of their block-houses and various fortifications.* Many of the Indians, driven from their works, fled outside, some doubtless to the wigwams inside, of which there were said to be upward of five hundred, many of them large and rendered bullet-proof by large quantities of grain in tubs and bags, placed along the sides. In these many of their old people and their women and children had gathered for safety, and behind and within these as defences the Indians still kept up a skulking fight, picking off our men. After three hours hard fighting, with many of the officers and men wounded or dead, a treacherous enemy of unknown numbers and resources lurking in the surrounding forests, and the night coming on, word comes to fire the wigwams, and the battle becomes a fearful holocaust, great numbers of those who had taken refuge therein being burned.

The fight had now raged for nearly three hours with dreadful carnage in proportion to the numbers engaged. It is not certain at just what point the Plymouth forces were pushed forward, but most likely after the works were carried, and the foremost, exhausted, retired for a time bearing their dead and wounded to the rear; but we are assured that all took part in the engagement, coming on in turn as needed. It is doubtful if the cavalry crossed the swamp, but were rather held in reserve and as scouts to cover the rear and prevent surprises from any outside parties.

When now the fortress and all its contents were burning, and destruction assured, our soldiers hastily gathered their wounded and as many as possible of their dead, and formed their shattered column for the long and weary march back to Wickford.

Reliable details of this battle are few, and only gleaned from casual references here and there, and thus many, who have sought to write upon the matter, have quoted in full the story of Benjamin Church, who relates his own experience, and draws out his personal

* Mr. Dudley's account seems to indicate that at this point the Indians rallied and beat the English again out of the fort; but after careful weighing of the evidence, I am satisfied that in the matter of the battle itself, Mr. Hubbard's account, gathered from the officers of Massachusetts, especially Major Appleton, is most correct in details. Mr. Dudley remained outside the swamp with the General, his staff and reserve force, and the repulse, at the first onset, would naturally be magnified by those who were forced to await the issue without participation. The above account is entirely consistent. Again, when the band of volunteers headed by Church was sent forward by the General, the fort was already in full possession of our army, and when they passed the entrance many of the slain and several of our captains were lying where they fell. If there had been a retreat from the fort, these dead officers would have been removed.

reminiscences with all an old man's fondness for his deeds of "long ago." The very small part he took in this battle is evident even from his own story, and from the utter silence of other writers, especially Mr. Hubbard, who knew Church and commends him highly for his exploits in the Mount Hope campaign. No one can doubt the ability or courage of Mr. Church, but his part in this battle was simply that when the fort was carried and the fighting nearly over, he went, with some thirty others, into and through the fort and out into the swamp upon the trail of the retreating foe, discovered, ambushed and scattered a skulking party of them returning to the attack, chased a few of them into the fort amongst the huts, and was himself severely wounded by them thus brought to bay.

I wish here to record my protest against the unjust, often weak, and always inconsiderate, criticism bestowed upon our leaders in this campaign, and especially in this battle, for their lack of foresight in abandoning the shelter and provisions of the fort, their sacrifice of the lives of our wounded men through their removal and the dangers and fatigues of the long march, and their inhumanity in burning the helpless and innocent in their huts and wigwams.

It is well to remember at the start, that many of the wisest, ablest and bravest men of the three colonies were the leaders in this affair. A noble commander, wise and brave, reverend ministers, by no means backward with their opinions; the most prominent and skilful surgeons the country afforded; veteran majors and captains of Massachusetts and Connecticut, with their veteran soldiers fresh from the severe experiences in the western campaign, inured to danger and experienced in Indian wiles and deceits: against all these we have recorded only the remonstrance of Mr. Church, who up to that time, at least, had experience in Indian warfare only as a scout, and the record we have of any protest by him was made many years after the affair. And again, from the standpoint of their conditions as nearly as we can now judge, it seems that their hasty retreat was wise. They were some sixteen miles from their base of supplies (it is doubtful if they had noted the Indian supplies until the burning began). There was no way of reaching their provisions and ammunition at Wickford except by detaching a portion of their force now reduced greatly by death, wounds and exposure. The numbers of Indians that had escaped, and were still in the woods close at hand, were unknown, but supposed to be several thousand, with report of a thousand in reserve about a mile distant. These were now scattered and demoralized, but in a few hours might rally and fall upon the fort, put our troops, in their weakened condition, upon the defensive, and make their retreat from the swamp extremely difficult if not utterly impossible, encumbered as they would be by the wounded, whose swollen and stiffened wounds in a few hours would render removal doubly painful and dangerous. Added to this was the chance of an attack upon the garrison at Wickford, and the

dread of the midnight ambuscade, which every hour's delay made more likely and would render more dangerous. Thus it seems to me that from the standpoint of military strategy, the immediate retreat to Wickford was best. As to inhumanity, we must remember the harsh times in which they were living, the contempt in which the Indians were held—first, as heathen, against whom war was righteous; second, as idle and treacherous vagabonds, with no rights which honest industry was bound to respect; third, as deadly enemies, lying in wait to plunder, burn and destroy. Moreover, the very life of the colonies was threatened by this war; many thriving hamlets were already in ashes; hundreds of families were broken up and scattered up and down, with loss of all; fathers, husbands and brothers slain or in captivity, farms and homes laid waste, whole communities huddled in wretched block-houses, while the "reign of terror" swept about them. Brookfield, "Beers's Plain," and "Bloody-Brook," with their outrage and carnage, were fresh in mind, and a few days before, the destruction and massacre at Pettisquamscot; while even here at their feet were their dead and dying comrades and beloved officers. Is it strange that they were cruel, when now for the first time they came face to face with the authors of all their troubles in a fair fight? By any candid student of history I believe this must be classed as one of the most glorious victories ever achieved in our history, and considering conditions, as displaying heroism, both in stubborn patience and dashing intrepidity, never excelled in American warfare.

Of the details of the march to Wickford very little is known; through a bitter cold winter's night, in a blinding snowstorm, carrying two hundred and ten of their wounded and dead, these soldiers, who had marched from dawn till high noon, had engaged in a desperate life-and-death struggle from noon till sunset, now plodded sturdily back to their quarters of the day before, through deepening snows and over unbroken roads.* By the letters below, it will be seen that the General and staff, with their escort, got separated from the main column, lost their way and wandered about till 7 o'clock next morning, while the main body reached their quarters at 2 o'clock.

Dead and Wounded.

The names of those officers and soldiers of Massachusetts killed and wounded in this battle, have been given heretofore in the sketches of the companies to which they belonged.

By Capt. Oliver's letter, written a little more than a month afterwards from the seat of war, and considered official, we learn that up to that time the dead numbered about sixty-eight, and the wounded

* There is a tradition (mentioned in a note in Hon. Elisha R. Potter, Jr.'s "Early History of Narragansett") that the English feared an ambuscade in force on the line of march by which they had come, and so marched by way of McSparran Hill on their return.

one hundred and fifty, in the whole army. Eight of the dead were left in the fort, and twelve more were dead when they started back to Wickford. Twenty-two died on the march, and before the next day, Monday, Dec. 20th, when they buried thirty-four in one grave, and six more within two days, eight died at Rhode Island, and three others, making in all but fifty-nine, if we reckon the twelve carried from the fort as a part of the thirty-four buried Dec. 20th; otherwise, seventy-one. But the first estimate of sixty-eight is satisfied if we add the twenty killed at the fort to those buried at Wickford and Rhode Island, and conclude that the twelve taken from the fort were buried somewhere on the march.*

Of the losses of Massachusetts we are not left in doubt, since there is still preserved in our archives a full and official return, which Mr. Hubbard gives substantially, adding to the wounded probably those whose wounds were slight and not reported at the time, and with some modifications of the list of dead, though with the same total.

The official list of those killed and wounded in the battle, including three of Capt. Gardiner's men killed previous to the battle, is dated January 6, 1675, and entitled,

A list of Major Sam[l] Apleton souldjers y[t] were slayne & wounded the 19[th] Decemb. '75, at the Indians fort at Narraganset.

		Killed.	Wounded.
In the Company of	Major Appleton,	4	18
	Capt. Mosely,	6	9
	Capt. Oliver,	5	8
	Capt. Davenport,	4	11
	Capt. Johnson,	4	8
	Capt. Gardiner,	7	10
	Capt. Prentice,	1	3
		31	67

Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 104.

Of the officers, Capts. Davenport, Johnson and Gardiner were killed, and Lieutenants Upham, Savage, Swain, and Ting were wounded.†

Of the Connecticut troops, seventy-one were killed and wounded according to Hubbard; and according to the eminent historian of Connecticut, Dr. Benjamin Trumbull, seventy.

		Mr. Hubbard's Account.	
Capt. Gallop,	10		
Capt. Marshall,	14	Of New Haven Company,	20
Capt. Seely,	20	Of Capt. Siely his Company,	20
Capt. Mason,	9	Of Capt. Watt his Company,	17
Capt. Watts,	17—70	Of Capt. Marshal his Company,	14—71

* Ninigret, sachem of the Nianticks, sent to General Winslow word that his people had buried the dead of the English left at the Fort, and that the number was twenty-four, and he asked for a charge of powder for each. This information was given in a letter from Major Bradford to Rev. Mr. Cotton of Plymouth.

† The random estimates of Henry Trumbull, who published a popular History of Indian Wars in 1810, will appear absurd when compared with the above. For instance, he gives as killed and wounded of Connecticut 357, when their whole force was 300 English; and of their Indian allies, he kills 51 and wounds 82 of the 150.

Major Treat by tradition is said to have been the last man to have left the fort, commanding the rear guard of the army; and of his captains, Gallop, Marshall and Seely were killed, and Capt. Mason mortally wounded.

Of the Plymouth forces, Major Bradford, commander, and Benjamin Church of the General's staff were severely wounded, and of the soldiers the killed and wounded in both companies were twenty, by best accounts.

The grave of the forty buried at Wickford was marked by a tree called the "grave appletree," which was blown down in the gale of September, 1815. The wounded were sent in vessels to Rhode Island, and well cared for.

Of the losses of the enemy there can be no reliable account. Capt. Oliver says, "By the best intelligence we killed 300 fighting men, and took say 350 and above 300 women and children." Mr. Dudley, two days after the fight, reckons about two hundred; Capt. Mosely counted sixty-four in one corner of the fort; and Capt. Gorham made an estimate of at least one hundred and fifty. The desperate strait of the Indians is shown by their leaving the dead in their flight. Indian prisoners afterward reported seven hundred killed.

The conduct of the Mohegan and Pequod allies is represented by Capt. Oliver as false, they firing in the air, but securing much plunder. I have found no other notice of their part in the battle.

Correspondence.

The following letters, written by Joseph Dudley, who was with Gen. Winslow as one of his staff or "Guard," and also served as chaplain to the army, are perhaps the most reliable official reports of the campaign that remain. The letter of the fifteenth is still preserved, as noted below. That of the twenty-first was published by Governor Hutchinson in his "History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay," London edition (1765), page 302. I have not been able to find the original of this last. The letter of the Council to Gen. Winslow, in answer to Dudley's first, is preserved as below noted, and in two copies—the first a rough draft, the second a carefully written copy in Secretary Rawson's own hand.

Letter of Joseph Dudley.

May it please your Honr Mr Smiths 15, 10, 75

I am commanded by the Generall to give your Honr account of our proceeding since our last frm Pautuxet in the Sabath evening we advanced the whole body from Mr Carpenters with Intent to surprise Pomham & his Party at about 10 or 12 Miles Distance having information by our Warwick Scouts of his seat but the darkness of ye Night Difficulty of our passage & unskilfulness of Pilots we passed the whole Night & found ourselves at such Distance yet from ym yt we Diverted & Marched to Mr Smiths, found our Sloops from Seaconk arrived since which by ye help of Indian Peter by whom your Honnor had the Information formerly of ye Number &

resolution of y^e^ Naragansets, we have burned two of their Towns viz: Ahmus who is this summer come down amongst them & y^e^ old Queens quarters consisting of about 150 Many of them large wigwams & seized & slayn 50 Persons in all our prisoners being about 40 Concerning whom the generall prayes your advice concerning their transportation or Disposall all which was performed without any loss save a slight wound by an Arrow in Lieut. Wayman's face, the whole body of them we find removed into their great swamp at Canonicus his quarters where we hope with the addition of Connecticut, when arrived we hope to Coop them up, this day we Intend the removall or spoyle of y^r^ Corn & hope to Morrow a March toward them, our soldiers being very chearful are forward notwithstanding great Difficulty by weather & otherwise, abovs^d^ Peter whom we have found very faithfull will Make us believe y^t^ y^r^ are 3000 fighting Men though Many unarmed Many well fitted with lances we hope by cutting off their forage to force them to a fayr battle In y^e^ Mean time I have only to present the Generalls humble service to your (*sic*) & to beg your Intense prayers for this so great Concern and remayn your

Honnors Humble Servant JOS: DUDLEY.

Goodale* nor Moor arrived we fear want of shot.

My humble service to Madam Leveret Brother and Sister Hubbard & Dudley.

Amongst our Prison^rs^ & slayne we find 10 or 12 Wampanoags.

[Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 101.]

Answer of the Council to Gen. Winslow.

S^r^ y^r^ Intelligences and Advices subjected by Mr Dudley the 15 & 16 Ins^t^ wee received this Morning being the 18^th^ at eight of the clock. Wee desire to blesse God y^t^ hee hath smiled upon you in y^r^ first Attempts & hath delivered some of o^r^ enemys into yo^r^ hands & also to Acknowledge Gods favou^r^ in the supporting y^e^ hearts of yo^r^ souldiers in such a severe season & keeping up their spirits w^th^ courage and that you have received no more losse of men: But yet also according to God's wonted manner of dealing hee hath mixed the Cup w^th^ some bitternes; in the losse susteyned in yo^r^ soldiers especially Mr Bulls house & y^e^ people y^re^ also y^t^ the forces of Conecticut are not joyned w^th^ you nor the vessell w^th^ supplys of Ammunition & provision then arrived; Wee hope by this time both the vessell may be arrived & the Conecticut men conjoined w^th^ you but least that should faile wee have sent a cart w^th^ Ammunition; and an order from Gou^nr^ Winthrop for their forces to March speedily; Concerning the disposall of y^e^ Indian prisoners; Our Advice is if any present to buy them, they may be sould there & delivered by your Orders or if that cannot bee then to secure them at the Island or els-where at yo^r^ best discretion; Wee have no more to add at present but our hearty prayers unto the Lord of Hoasts to appear w^th^ & for you & all w^th^ you, in all yo^r^ enterprises, for the Lord & his people and cover all yo^r^ heads in the day of Battle, So w^th^ our particular respects & love to y^rself & all y^e^ Command^rs^ & Ministers; wee remajne

Yo^r^ respective friends & servants

Boston 18: December 1675 at one of the clock. EDWARD RAWSON Secret^y^ in the name & by y^e^ order of the Council.

[Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 102.]

* Richard Goodale and Thomas Moore. (See Maritime Department, p. 93.)

*Second Letter of Joseph Dudley.**

Mr Smith's, 21, 10, 1675 (Dec. 21, 1675).

May it please your honour,

The coming in of Connecticut force to Petaquamscot, and surprisal of six and slaughter of 5 on Friday night, Saturday we marched towards Petaquamscot, though in the snow, and in conjunction about midnight or later, we advanced; Capt. Mosely led the van, after him Massachusets, and Plimouth and Connecticut in the rear; a tedious march in the snow, without intermission, brought us about two of the clock afternoon, to the entrance of the swamp, by the help of Indian Peter, who dealt faithfully with us; our men, with great courage, entered the swamp about 20 rods; within the cedar swamp we found some hundreds of wigwams, forted in with a breastwork and flankered, and many small blockhouses up and down, round about; they entertained us with a fierce fight, and many thousand shot, for about an hour, when our men valiantly scaled the fort, beat them thence, and from the blockhouses. In which action we lost Capt. Johnson, Capt Danforth, and Capt Gardiner, and their lieutenants disabled, Capt. Marshall also slain; Capt. Seely, Capt. Mason, disabled, and many other of our officers, insomuch that, by a fresh assault and recruit of powder from their store, the Indians fell on again, recarried and beat us out of, the fort, but by the great resolution and courage of the General and Major, we reinforced, and very hardly entered the fort again, and fired the wigwams, with many living and dead persons in them, great piles of meat and heaps of corn, the ground not admitting burial of their store, were consumed; the number of their dead, we generally suppose the enemy lost at least two hundred men; Capt. Mosely counted in one corner of the fort sixty four men; Capt. Goram reckoned 150 at least; But, O! Sir, mine heart bleeds to give your honor an account of our lost men, but especially our resolute Captains, as by account inclosed, and yet not so many, but we admire there remained any to return, a captive woman, well known to Mr Smith, informing that there were three thousand five hundred men engaging us and about a mile distant a thousand in reserve, to whom if God had so pleased, we had been but a morsel, after so much disablement: she informeth, that one of their sagamores was slain and their powder spent, causing their retreat, and that they are in a distressed condition for food and houses, that one Joshua Tift, an Englishman, is their encourager and conductor. Philip was seen by one, credibly informing us, under a strong guard.

After our wounds were dressed, we drew up for a march, not able to abide the field in the storm, and weary, about two of the clock, obtained our quarters, with our dead and wounded, only the General, Ministers, and some other persons of the guard, going to head a small swamp, lost our way, and returned again to the evening's quarters, a wonder we were not a prey to them, and, after at least thirty miles marching up and down, in the morning recovered our quarters, and had it not been for the arrival of Goodale next morning, the whole camp had perished; The whole army, especially Connecticut, is much disabled and unwilling to march, with tedious storms, and no lodgings, and frozen and swollen limbs, Major Treat importunate to return at least to Stonington; Our dead and wounded are about two hundred, disabled as many; the want of officers, the considera-

* This letter is copied from the note in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, vol. i. page 273.

tion whereof the General commends to your honor, forbids any action at present, and we fear whether Connecticut will comply, at last, to any action. We are endeavoring, by good keeping and billetting our men at several quarters, and, if possible removal of our wounded to Rhode-Island, to recover the spirit of our soldiers, and shall be diligent to find and understand the removals on other action of the enemy, if God please to give us advantage against them.

As we compleat the account of our dead, now in doing, the Council is of the mind, without recruit of men we shall not be able to engage the main body.

I give your honour hearty thanks for your kind lines, of which I am not worthy

I am Sir, your honor's humble servant,
JOSEPH DUDLEY.

Since the writing of these lines, the General and Council have jointly concluded to abide on the place, notwithstanding the desire of Connecticut, only entreat that a supply of 200 may be sent us, with supply of commanders; and, whereas we are forced to garrison our quarters with at least one hundred, three hundred men, upon joint account of the colonies, will serve, and no less, to effect the design. This is by order of the council.

Blunderbusses, and hand grenadoes, and armour, if it may be, and at least two armourers to mend arms.

COMMISSARY DEPARTMENT.

The following accounts are inserted in this place as showing somewhat the method and material of the commissary department at that time. The accounts, as will be noticed, relate largely to the earlier part of the war, and the Mount Hope campaign under Gen. Cudworth. The preliminary accounts having been squared by Mr. Southward (Southworth), all the rest were gathered in the general settlement in January, 1675–6.—In Hull's Journal.

27 August 1675

Plymouth Colony Dr. to Cash for severalls as followeth.		
To Phillip Curtis for five men to guard powder and shott	00, 17, 00	
To the Guard for expence at Roxbury	00, 08, 06	02, 05, 09
for ½ bb^{l} of biskett	00, 05, 09	
for 1^{lb} of powder besides what they brought	00, 01, 06	
Expence of s^{d} Guard at Dedham	00, 13, 00	

September 14th 1675

Richard Smith for guarding Ammunition	00, 03, 00	
Thomas Lawrence ditto.	00, 03, 00	
James Hosly ditto.	00, 03, 00	00, 15, 00
James Montt ditto.	00, 03, 00	
Ebenezer Hill ditto.	00, 03, 00	

November 23^{d}. Cr. By Received of Mr. Southward for disbursements 03, 00, 09

January 25th 1675

Plimouth Colony Dr. to Sundry acc^{ts} as hear stated in p'per p'cells, for severalls dd'. by sundry persons for the use of s^{d} Colony at divers times

from the 29th of June last to this moneth inclusive as p̄r the accts, receipts, & orders relating thereunto filed as p No. 1269 & 1270 £285, 14, 10

Armes for a muskett to Genl Cudworth			00, 18, 00
Liqors for Rum to viz.			
Mr James Brown 9½ Gall.		2, 5, 0	05, 05, 00
Their forces at Naragansett 12½ gall		3, 0, 0	
Apparel for severalls viz.			32, 11, 00
To Nathaniel Gunny 1 pr shoes		0, 4, 0	
Ditto Benjamin Peirce		0, 4, 0	
To Capt Cornelius, Wastcoat, Shoes & Stokins		0, 14, 0	
To Josiah Joslin, shoes and stockins		0, 7, 0	
To Genl Cudworth 6 pr. shoes and 13 p. stockins		3, 0, 0	
Delivered by the Commissioners to their forces at Narragansett viz.			
26—shirts at	7, 16, 0		
6—Wastcoats	2, 14, 0		
9—p̄ drawers	1, 4, 0		
1—p̄ breeches	0, 18, 0		
2—lined coats	3, 0, 0	28, 2, 0	
10—p̄ shoes / 5—p̄ stockins	4, 15, 0		
6 yds of canvas for neckcloaths / shott pouch and calicoe	1, 0, 0		
180 yds sale cloth at ye	6, 15, 0		
		(32, 11, 0)	
Ammunition Id' viz.			103, 08, 10
To the officers a bagg with 35lbs powder		2, 14, 0	
Ditto to Benjamin Church with 18lbs and 50 bullets		2, 13, 6	
To the Genll 1 cask bullets qr 1lb or better		2, 16, 0	
To Mr James Brown 5½ bbl powder at 7lb pr bbl.		38, 10, 0	
Ditto 9 cask & 1 chest bullets qr. 11lb		25, 13, 4	
More dd'. by the Commissaries 480 flints		0, 10, 0	
124 bullets		2, 12, 0	
8 half barrells of powder of the Mattachusetts detained by the Governor of Rhoad Island for 4 barrells lent to Plimouth		28, 0, 0	
		(103, 08, 10)	
Tobacco, for 15lb to Nathaniel Gunny			0, 07, 06
Tooles, dd' to the officers viz 3 spades		0, 10, 0	02, 08, 00
2 Mattucks		1, 14, 0	
4 Axes		1, 04, 0	
Biskett dd' viz. To the Officers 150 cakes		0, 14, 0	44, 04, 00
To Mr James Brown 9 hhds.		31, 10, 0	
To Genall Cudworth 3½ hhds.		12, 00, 0	
Grocery for 26lb Raisons solis to ditto Brown			01, 06, 00
Fish for 1 hhd. ditto			04, 00, 00
Porke ditto for 5 bbl at 4lb pr bbl		20, 00, 00	28, 00, 00
2 bbl ditt		8, 00, 00	

Miscellanies, for severalls viz		24, 19, 06
To Benjamin Church 1 hh^{d} biscake	11, 10, 00	
2 bb^{l} porke		
2 bsh. pease & 1 sack	01, 02, 00	
20^{lb} tobacoe		
To Capt. Goram 1^{hhd} biskett & pease wanting 200 cakes	03, 17, 06	
1^{lb} raisons solis		
4 large peeces of porke		
To Gen^{all} Cudworth 1 kittle	01, 10 00	
To ditto Church 1 jarr oyle	01, 03, 00	
2 galls wine		
10^{lb} raisons solis		
To L^{t} Tanner 1^{bbl} pease	04, 00, 00	
(4?)^{bbl} biscake		
$\frac{2}{3}^{bbl}$ porke		
To John Cobleigh for ditt. Ch(urch)?	1, 16, 00	
1^{bbl} salt		
At Narragansett 2 qire p(aper)	0, 01, 00	
	(24, 19, 06)	
Billetings, for quartering 12 souldiers at M^{r} Miles hous		10, 00, 00
Alsoe Gen^{all} Cudworth's and Capt Bradfords Companies the 17th 18th & 19th dayes of July with bread, pease, pork tobaco and liq^{ors}		
Pease viz		
To dit. Browne 3^{hhd} with Cask	9, 00, 00	10, 15, 00
To dit. Cudworth $\frac{2}{3}^{hhd}$	1, 15, 00	
Cask for 9^{hhd} to Ditto Browne		2, 01, 00
Maritim—disbursments viz		11, 00, 00
for the frait of 4^{hhd} bisket and 2^{bbl} of tobaco at guess	1, 00, 00	
Ditto to $\frac{1}{3}$ p^{t} of the hire of Vessells	10, 00, 00	
Salt dd'. viz		
To Ditto Browne 1^{hhd} qr. 12^{bsh} & Cask	2, 00, 00	02, 06, 00
By Ditto Commissaries 1$\frac{1}{2}$ bsh	0, 06, 00	
Thomas Terry for 1$\frac{1}{2}$ firkins of sope 1^{bsh} meale, 10 wooden boules and 1 cann		02, 05, 00
	(285, 14, 10)	

June 24th 1676.

Plymouth Colony Cr By Viz.		
Ammunission for powder & ball returned as p No 3185	44, 18, 04	69, 18, 04
Biskett dit.	22, 00, 00	
Graine for pease dit.	03, 00, 00	
By Disbursements for Ballance as p bond 11535 fo^{l} 544		215, 16, 06

The account is thus carried to a later Ledger, which is lost.

Maritime Department.

The following may show somewhat of the "naval" power of that day, and the methods and means of transporting supplies.

1675	Maritime Disbursements Dr	
Nov 20	To Peter Treby for frait of the Sloope Primrose	£09, 06, 00
Dec 10	To Israel Nichols for wood for Goodall's Vessel	00, 05, 00
" "	To Stephen Hascott for dammage of the Sloope Swan	03, 10, 00
Feby 29	To Anthony Low for frait . . .	05, 00, 00
1676		
June 24	" Richard Goodall for frait . . .	22, 00, 00
"	" Nehemiah Goodall for Service . .	05, 10, 00
"	" Pilgrim Simpkin " " . .	02, 08, 00
"	" James Twisdell " " . . .	02, 08, 00
"	" Richard Earle " " . . .	02, 08, 00
"	" Ezekiel Gardner " " . . .	02, 02, 00
"	" William Woodbery " " . . .	05, 10, 00
"	" Anthony Haywood " " . . .	04, 00, 00
"	" Thomas Moore " " . .	10, 00, 00
"	" John Baker " " . . .	02, 08, 00

Andrew Belcher, of Cambridge, a prominent merchant, with vessels operating between Boston and Connecticut ports, was active in these affairs, but his accounts doubtless fall into a later Ledger.

In the State Archives, in some bills of Benjamin Gillam against the colony, I find the item, Jan'y 10, 1675:

"To charges on men to cut out Andrew Belcher's Sloop to goe to Narragansett, 14s."

Mr. Church speaks of the arrival of Andrew Belcher as opportune in saving the army; Mr. Dudley says Goodale. Mr. Hubbard's reference to the vessels "frozen in at Cape Cod," causing distress, was, I think, to a later time.

After the return of the army to Mr. Smith's Garrison, the burial of the dead and removal of their wounded to Rhode Island, they spent several weeks parleying with the enemy, watching and recruiting. Major Treat withdrew with his Connecticut forces, against the wishes, it appears, of the General and the other officers, and was later called to account for insubordination. Additional troops were sent down from Boston, and Massachusetts and Plymouth held the field for a month longer; but their operations and the closing part of this winter campaign, and the new forces engaged, must fall into the next chapter.

Massachusetts afterwards redeemed the promise made to the soldiers at Dedham Plain, and granted to eight hundred and forty claimants, including those of Plymouth, the seven Narragansett townships. Connecticut to her volunteers in the Narragansett wars granted the town of Voluntown. (See List in Narragansett Historical Register, vol. i. p. 145, by Hon. Richard A. Wheeler.)

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